

Message Text

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HEREWITH FULL TEXT STEPHEN S. ROSENFELD COMMENTARY EDITO-
RIAL PAGE WASHINGTON POST, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 22 ENTITLED
"HUMAN VALUES AND FOREIGN POLICY:

SOLZHENITSYN'S EXPLUSION HAS BROUGHT TO A HEAD THE
DIPLOMATICALLY, POLITICALLY AND INTELLECTUALLY DIFFICULT
ISSUE OF WHAT ROLE THE PROMOTION OF MORAL OR HUMAN VALUES
IN THE SOVIET UNION OUGHT TO PLAY IN THE FOREIGN POLICY
OF THE UNITED STATES.

FOR WHILE MANY AMERICANS EXPRESSED THEIR SHOCK AND
OUTRAGE, PRESIDENT NIXON PASSED UP MAKING ANY STATEMENT
OF HIS OWN, AND SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER WENT ON
RECORD ONLY IN RESPONSE TO REPORTERS' QUESTIONS. AVOIDING
ANY SPECIFIC COMMENT ON THE WRITER, KISSINGER SAID: "THE
ONLY PROBLEM THAT WE HAVE SEEN HERE IS THE EXTENT TO WHICH
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OUR HUMAN, MORAL AND CRITICAL CONCERN FOR MR SOLZHENITSYN

AND PEOPLE OF SIMILAR CONVICTIONS SHOULD AFFECT THE DAY-TO-DAY CONDUCT OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY." THE DANGER OF NUCLEAR WAR MAKES DETENTE UNAVOIDABLE, HE DECLARED.

SEN. HENRY JACKSON (D-WASH), WHOSE INTELLECTUAL VIGOR AND PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDACY HAVE MADE HIM MR. NIXON'S CHIEF INTERLOCUTOR IN FOREIGN POLICY, FIRED BACK AT "THE PRESIDENT'S SILENCE AND THE SECRETARY'S WAFLING." CLAIMING THAT "THE ADMINISTRATION HAS NARROWED ITS CONCEPTION OF DETENTE TO EXCLUDE ISSUES OF HUMAN RIGHTS," HE SAID KISSINGER HAD "POSED A FALSE CHOICE BETWEEN AVOIDING NUCLEAR WAR AND KEEPING FAITH WITH TRADITIONAL VALUES OF HUMAN DECENCY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY."

IN FACT, THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION HAS CULTIVATED A STYLE OF RHETORICAL NON-INTERVENTION IN SOVIET INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THE RITUAL ANNUAL APPEALS FOR "SELF-DETERMINATION" ?OR THE BALTIC STATES, FOR INSTANCE DISAPPEARED IN 1973. THE ADMINISTRATION HAS URGED AND PRACTICED "QUIET DIPLOMACY" TO HELP SOVIET JEWS EMIGRATE. ITS RESPONSE TO SOLZHENITSYN WAS CALCULATED AND CHARACTERISTIC.

ONE ADMINISTRATION RATIONALE FOR THIS DISCREET APPROACH IS THAT--AT LEAST IN RESPECT TO SOVIET JEWS, A SPECIAL GROUP WITH A POWERFUL POLITICAL ALLY IN THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY--IT HAS WORKED: SOME 80,000 RUSSIAN JEWS HAVE LEFT SINCE 1970. ACTUALLY, THIS FLOW HAS NOT BEEN FOR NIXON AN EXPLICIT GOAL OF DETENTE, BUT A BYPRODUCT OF DETENTE--A BOON WHICH MOSCOW HAS GIVEN NIXON TO DISARM JACKSON, SO THAT NIXON IN TURN CAN DELIVER TRADE AND CREDITS TO MOSCOW. THIS MAKES NIXON AND JACKSON PARTNERS OF SORTS, A CONNECTION WHICH JACKSON--BECAUSE HE PROVIDES THE MUSCLE--IS A LOT READIER TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAN NIXON.

BUT SHOULD PROGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS BECOME,AS JACKSON INSISTS, AN EXPLICIT OBJECTIVE OF DETENTE? THE ADMINISTRATION WARNS THAT TO GO DOWN THAT PATH IS TO RISK UNDERMINING THE BASIS FOR SOVIET-AMERICAN POLITICAL COOPERATION. AND IN A BROAD SENSE, ITS FEARS ARE LEGITIMATE. IT IS UNCLASSIFIED

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INDISPUTABLE, AS JACKSON HIMSELF CONCEDED, THAT THERE IS A LIMIT TO THE AMOUNT OF AMERICAN INTERVENTION THAT SOVIET-AMERICAN DIPLOMACY CAN BEAR. IN THIS INSTANCE, THE RUSSIANS PROBABLY BELIEVE THEY DID NIXON A FAVOR BY JUST EXPELLING SOLZHENITSYN, RATHER THAN TRYING AND IMPRISONING HIM. WERE NIXON TO REACT STIFFLY, THEY COULD WELL FEEL THEIR "GOOD FAITH" HAD BEEN ABUSED.

THE TROUBLE IS THAT A SEQUENCE TAKEN AND JUSTIFIED
IN A CERTAIN OFFICIAL SOVIET-AMERICAN CONTEXT LOOKS VERY

DIFFERENT IN THE LIGHT OF AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION AND
AMERICAN POLITICS. MANY AMERICANS HAD HOPED THAT "DETENTE"
WOULD PRODUCE MORE SOVIET POLITICAL COOPERATION AND MORE
INTERNAL SOVIET MELLOWING THAN HAVE BEEN EVIDENT SO
FAR. IF THOSE AMERICANS HAD SET THEIR HOPES TOO HIGH,
THEN THEIR DISAPPOINTMENT AND WARINESS NOW ARE NONETHE-
LESS VERY REAL.

THIS IS WHY JACKSON'S FULL-THROATED PROTEST ON
SOLZHENITSYN SUITED THE CURRENT MOOD SO MUCH BETTER THAN
THE NIXON-KISSINGER COUGH. INDEED, A STRONG CASE CAN BE
MADE THAT THE KREMLIN WOULD HAVE PUT DOWN AN UNCLUTTERED
ADMINISTRATION PROTEST TO THE EXIGENCIES OF AMERICAN
POLITICS, AND THAT SUCH A STATEMENT WOULD HAVE GIVEN THE
ADMINISTRATION MORE POLITICAL RUNNING ROOM FOR ITS SUB-
STANTIVE DEALINGS WITH MOSCOW. AS IT IS JACKSON NOW HAS
A CAMPAIGN ISSUE. SUPPORT FOR DETENTE IS NOT SO BROAD AND
ASSURED AS TO RELIEVE THE PRESIDENT OF CONCERN FOR THIS
ADMITTEDLY NICE POLITICAL CALCULUS.

WHAT NEITHER THE NIXONS NOR JACKSONS AMONG US C
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